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family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. [684] [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. (22)

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. (554)

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted.

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been

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organized on a basis of new forms of opposition (177) which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities. (182) ● (185)

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913. (178) (567) (565) (648) (197)

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá. (178) (182) (565) (464) (511) (361) (191)

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shunda'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

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madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure.

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station.

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

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Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern.

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system.

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people.

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the

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Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. (797)

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos." (101 177 829)

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization (101 177 182)

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and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

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speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena remains the language of the village. Among themselves the Terena, young and old, use their own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained.

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We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which have led to the integration of the Terena as a group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service.

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As the manager is the highest authority and social leader in the village, it follows that status among the Terena is measured in relation to the patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and

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nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá.

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949
[Post Chaco Period]

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Terena

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances.

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs.

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of Heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church.

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The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

Terena

Mbaya SK11

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It is plain that

in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation." (45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbaya and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel." (46) But even here, in a

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique -- RCO).

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont. /

These ceremonies, which

796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
 756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
 292 as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
 255 who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
 289 (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati
 and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature,
 and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

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 86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
 182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--.

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 87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
 [462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

[Traditional Culture]

796/52 cont. /
 182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
 619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
 571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terena community, near
 462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
 714 festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
 of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
 222 a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
 273 all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
 the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

796 been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
 182 to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
 619 seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
 571 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

89. The chronicler goes on:
 "Some sew glass beads on
 pieces of striped cotton cloth,
 others cut and lay out the red
 feathers with which they make
 ornaments for the head; yet
 others sketch on their husbands'
 bodies delicate paintings, when
 they do not do this themselves."
 (1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal
 relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained
 among the present-day Terena that this is perhaps the only
 moment when the local groups manage to gather together all
 (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today
 coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather
 the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

152 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
 182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
 619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
 571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the
 Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in
 the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas
 that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to
 those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
 171 ditional Terêna-Guanã religious behavior is characterized, in
 its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
 171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to

796 90. "The ceremonial life
 171 of the "Tereno" and probably
 of all "Guanã" also was par-
 ticularly intense when the
 new year began. It is difficult
 to ascertain wheter these Indians
 adopted the "Mbya" rites and
 added a few traditional elements
 of their own, or whether ceri-
 monies already present in their
 own earlier culture corresponded
 to the Pleiades feast of the
 "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357).
 /Cited in English. /

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
 773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
 172 day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
 114 origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the
Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in
 the Chaco tribes. (91)

/104 cont. /

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include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

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Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldeia and to go on tending

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their herds. One family from Bananal and one from Cachoeirinha finally left the aldeia, the former selling its herd and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, like the others not possessors of good pasture grounds, and, especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

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The most significant differences between Terêna communities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

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We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/108 cont. /

endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate deeply into Terena culture, the behavior of these Indians has not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

/109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious situation generated by the diversity of motivations which operated in the conversion of the Terena, we can classify their aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terena are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

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Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

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171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

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177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
 369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
 582 encountered by the Terena male in winning a non-Indian woman.
 562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
 563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low
 standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage,
 when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence
 of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point
 of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also
 true that it covers only one populational category, namely,
 the female sex. The marriageable male population is com-
 pelled to remain connected as much as possible with their
 communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives.
 One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both
 are Terena) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
 [62] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially
 those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only
 on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular
 relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly
 find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood
 here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters)
 without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the
 "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered,
 it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with
 interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation
 of their children and of themselves.

* 177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
 182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
 571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
 [156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of
 contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones),
 there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the
 individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence
 in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc....
 If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

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57/ off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginalization (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy, making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" /condition/-which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English. / As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

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128 clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

It should be made

Marriage and Terena Tribal Solidarity

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population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the local groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

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5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

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Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Whether or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

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Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.¹² As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

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¹² Today this type of marriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

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616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, resulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

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[198] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and without a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilineal pattern in intercommunal marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

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571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and immediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even though it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

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